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The American Fro Budget

A MONTHLY
MAGAZINE
devoted to
practical
problems
of the
African people in all
parts of the world

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THE AFRO-AMERICAN BUDGET.

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE, DEVOTED TO THE PRACTICAL PROBLEMS
OF THE AFRICAN RACE IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

VOL. I. EVANSTON, ILL., DECEMBER, 1889. NO. 6.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

BY REV. H. W. BOLTON.

It is a great thing for a nation to be able to command the services of great men. Men whose loyalty and wisdom are above question. Such as can be trusted in the time of need. No people ever inherited more than we in this respect. When the question of existence was on us, then came to our leadership a brave heart, with clear brains, and the crisis was successfully passed. George Washington's name must always remain at the head of the list where patriots are recorded. Then came years of successful growth and development. Question after question found ready solution, until some vainly thought all danger was passed, and on the reception of Daniel Webster to the Senate an old gentleman remarked, 'It's too late, Mr. Webster, for you to be heard, for all the problems of national interest are settled.'

But God had called this people to these shores for a work that could not have been accomplished under the old constitution, and the evils it sheltered. He had filled all New England, 'then a mighty power in the national life,' with Puritanic instincts. The fires of liberty could not be put out. They gave rise to such convictions as were voiced by Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips. The Middle States had inherited the spirit of William the Silent and William Penn. While the great west was being settled by men from all these sections and the south was one volume of grief and prayer. God wanted a man such as he could use and trust. The pulpit was mortgaged to slavery. The press held in political vows. Where is the man? God knew. Floating down the Mississippi on a raft was a fatherless young man, of strong personal habits, and characteristics such as the hour demanded. Drifting almost without a guide, he now stands in the sale yard, where men and women are sold. Fathers and mothers torn from loving embrace and driven as

cattle before the lash of American citizens, who on national occasions shouted themselves hoarse for liberty and equal rights.

What those visits to New Orleans did for Mr. Lincoln may be seen by reading his speeches. In the campaign of Fremont and Dayton, when arrested by an opponent who challenged his right to speak, he said, 'So long as the sun shines, the wind blows, or the storms beat on any man who has not the right to shield himself, I will speak.' Again when the committee visited him in 1860 to find out his position on the question of state rights, he said, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand. God almighty has ordained that this is to be one nation.'

Thus prepared, when the crisis came we had a leader with conviction sufficient to write the Emancipation proclamation, the grandest document since the Declaration of Independence. Its significance has never been fully realized, though the nations have felt its force and acknowledged its right.

There were many things that made it possible for Mr. Lincoln to become as he is, immortal.

First, he was born in good time and located favorably. Had Providence ordered his birth in Boston or New Orleans in 1809 he would have been called to a different work and possibly never have been the man he was. I can conceive of circumstances such as would have suffered Mr. Lincoln to have lived and died unknown to any outside of his state, but the circumstances created by others brought out the forces of his nature such as would scarcely have attracted notice in ordinary times, and gave to him immortal fame. This fact should silence our criticism in reference to the future of anyone. Except in cases where there is no natural ability, and no time for development. If you look upon a man at the age of thirty, unable to play a violin, it's safe to predict that he will never become an accomplished violinist. But where there is no technical obstacle, limiting the possibilities of the future, let every man hope for increasing power and enlarged fields of usefulness. It was an accident that made Scott a novelist. Searching for fishing tackle, he stumbled on the unfinished manuscript of Waverly, and finished it. It is said that George Eliot spent her time in translating German philosophical books; never suspecting the existence of her gifts as a novelist, until a friend urged her to make an experiment. Had Miss Evans married a rich man of ordinary intellectual powers, she would never have been more than a student, an expounder of philosophy. None will ever know how much Mr. Lincoln was indebted to the circumstances attending his life and administration. He was the first great leader of the people in a national contest. The republican party gave him the opportunity for that service, on which his fame rests. The

hour had come for the liberation of the slave, circumstances were ripe and the undercurrent of liberty had swollen and intensified, until it could no longer be held. It must overleap the barriers. And Mr. Lincoln providentially was in position to give direction to its outburst. It is not certain that Mr. Lincoln entertained the thought of abolishing slavery. But God did, and had called a man to the presidency such as he could use.

Second, he was blessed with a good mother; of whom he once said: 'All that I am or hope to be I owe to my angel mother.' She was not only intellectually a strong woman but retained her youthful ambition; and planned with and for him, as living in the same generation and looking for like results. She made home the most delightful place in the world, and was to him the most charming companion. It was thus with Goethe, the German poet. He was his mother's pet long before she was out of her teens, and retained her genial, social and intellectual vigor, and thereby furnished inspiration and counsel during the days in which he did his best work.

And if we expect to see the full benefit of Mr. Lincoln's life-work we shall look after the mother's; for most of the great men of history have been the sons of remarkable women. In the language of Napoleon I, 'who never forgot his allegiance to his mother, Lucretia Bonaparte,' 'America wants mothers whose authority is characterized by a sweet reasonableness, whose children can respect their authority and cherish the principles given them.

Third, his religious conviction. He was a man of profound and intense religious feeling. He continually invited and appreciated the prayers of good people. Standing on the platform of a car about to leave his home in Springfield, overwhelmed with the sense of personal responsibility which never left him for an hour, he asked the prayers of his neighbors in those touching phrases so familiar to us all. 'I now leave you not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in him who can go with me and remain with you and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well. To his care commending you as I hope in your prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate farewell.'

He believed firmly in the Sabbath as a day for rest, and spiritual improvement. In an order issued November 16, 1864, he said:

'The president, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and

beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of Christian people, and a due regard for the divine will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the national forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperiled by the profanation of the day or name of the Most High. "At this time of public distress," adopting the words of Washington in 1779, "men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." The first general order issued by the father of his country after the Declaration of Independence indicated the spirit in which our institutions were founded and should ever be defended: "The general hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

The date of this remarkable order renders it impossible for any to give to it political significance. He had just been re-elected by an overwhelming majority.

His party was everywhere triumphant. His own personal popularity was unlimited. This order must have been the sincere offspring of conviction. His meditations were such as thoughtful men of prayer have always had. In the dark days of 1862, while his mind was burdened with the weightiest questions of life, wearied and worn with the perplexing problems incident to the war, he retired within himself and in this frame of mind he wrote to his friend the following note:

'The will of God prevails. In great contests each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be and one must be wrong. God cannot be for and against the same thing at the same time. In the present civil war it is quite possible that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party; and yet the human instrumentalities working just as they do, are of the best adaption to effect His purpose. I am almost ready to say that this is probably true that God wills this contest, and wills that it shall not end yet. By His mere great power on the minds of the now contestants, He could have either saved or destroyed the Union without a human contest. Yet the contest began. And having begun, He could give the final victory to either side any day. Yet the contest proceeds.'

We see how carefully he studied to know the will of God, for this is not the venture of an irreligious man; but the mature thought of one who has been often there.

May God give us many such men, that in the war of ignorance, intemperance, Catholicism, socialism and anarchy now threatening the purity of home, the unity of schools, and the safety of national institutions, we may be victorious and triumphant.

THE AMERICAN TEACHER.

BY PROF. W. H. SEALS, A. M.

DELIVERED BEFORE THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ADAMS COUNTY
TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION, AT THE COURT HOUSE, QUINCY,
ILLINOIS, NOVEMBER 30, 1889.

MR. PRESIDENT:—The responsibilities and qualifications of the American teacher are vast and varied. He is not weighed down so much by saws of books as he is by the principles that govern humanity. The poet says that a faultless person has not been, is not now, nor will he ever be. May we not say that every boy and girl that comprehends that language while dwelling on the sweet plains of innocent childhood think it extravagant? Do they not think that that 'faultless piece' is their own gen'rous school ma'am? When we were boys we thought so; and, even on the hills of suspicious manhood, we had not ceased to think that those pious examples of our early teachers, concerning virtue, honesty, patriotism and fairness came from wells of manhood undefiled! In as much as we know this, and that boys and girls are affected now as we were then, we will take the right to say that every person that teaches school in this land of the free should have a moral basis, as solid, pure as broad and the foundation on which this government is built. Nature should first do its work for the American teacher.

'Before man made us citizens
Great Nature made us men:—

the first qualification of the American teacher. And it comes not from books, but from God, through ancestors. This we believe, and we would still believe it if we were compelled to admit that some of those ancestors were nothing more than pious and well-disposed monkeys a thousand years ago.

What has the age of Victoria done in a scientific, literary or philosophical sense, more than has the age of Elizabeth, Augustus, Cæsar, or Pericles? Added a little here and there to what has already been grandly established. If we had those ages strung out before us like a class of boys and girls, we would be puzzled to know which to call the head and which to call the foot, unless the natural method of seniority

should suggest itself, by which arrangement our own electric-girdled, prize-fighting, baseball, yelling age would take the place at the foot. This conflicts with many of the theories about the 'glories of the nineteenth century,' its 'solid particulars and glittering generalities.' 'Well,' says one, 'I know we have made some progress.' Granted, but since when? allow me to ask. If Grandpapa Baboon came all the way from his all-fours and Esau uniform up to the finest specimens of creation, such as are seated before me, he did well and should be marked a hundred per cent in 'advancement.' The Baboon is all right if such has been his progress and is not on trial to-day, but his progeny too often prove ungrateful sons and daughters of so worthy a sire. Even if Darwin's theory be true, from what we are able to glean from the musty chronicles of the times and the paintings of the old masters, we have every reason to believe that Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were in possession of speech, could stand erect, had gotten rid of the opposite toe and caudal appendage, and yet the ideas that they advanced are still grinding the onward march of science, notwithstanding the fact they were produced twenty-three centuries ago. Longfellow, Lowell, Emerson and Holmes may be as bright a constellation in the literary skies to generations to come as Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare and Milton are to us, but can we expect more? In view of the facts already known, this age will do marvelously well if it succeeds in finding all the 'lost arts.' The advantages that the nineteenth century has over all others are the changes brought about by the power and influences of the christian religion; not by the superabundance of philosophical and scientific lore, but in the noble and God-like disposition to scatter what it has. The great men of this age are not the men that are simply willing to sacrifice a hecatomb on the discovery of a geometrical truth, but are men whose heads, hearts, hands and pockets are united in reaching every case of poverty, misery and wretchedness.

'Men who their duty know,
But know their *rights* (and other men's rights) and knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long aimed blow
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain.'

In our opinion this world has not been without knowledge since Adam put his naughty incisors into the fruit of that forbidden Pyrus, but it has been without wisdom, grace and mercy. That 'mercy' the poet says:

'Is not strained.
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven upon the earth beneath;
It is twice blessed; it blesseth him who gives and him who takes;
'Tis mighty in the mightiest.'

The twin monsters of prejudice and selfishness have been the king. Every time the human family has marched toward the front, he has compelled it to about face and march back again. Teachers in other ages thought it was humiliating to themselves and contrary to the mandate of the gods, to impart what they knew to common people. From the eyes of those selfish aristocrats Eternal Wisdom hid a continent and when he saw fit sent the pilgrim fathers to lay the foundation of a government that should stand while abiding ages roll. This land is our own dear Union of States. He that teaches the boys and girls of this country should have a heart with sympathy enough to include all mankind; large enough, metaphorically speaking, to touch the two oceans, from the polar regions to the tropics; a disposition for good as generous as its dashing rivers, and principles as true to democratic government as the steel from its ore-ribbed mountains. These are the principal qualifications of the American teacher.

Once upon a time—so the story goes—there was a Missouri congressman that went to Washington every session, drew his salary with marked regularity but interested men of the most retentive memory could not call to mind anything else that he did. After so long a time the opposite party put against him a plain, common-sense backwoods man in a home-made suit. In one of their joint debates the congressman arose with an air of superiority and said: 'Fellow citizens, my opponent wants to go to congress and he hasn't a decent coat to his back.' His party applauded and the laugh went round. When the man in the home-spun suit arose he said with becoming modesty, 'Gentlemen, It is true that I haven't a *broadcloth* coat to my back. My wife made the one I have and it may not be in style, but, gentlemen, you have sent the *coat* to congress long enough, I now advise you to send the *man* and let the coat remain at home, and results will justify the change.' They say that that backwoodsman was elected and the people in that district have never been ashamed of the way they voted in that particular election.—The wild young people of this country that have no respect for law and order, religion and morals, have come up outside of the sweep and range of the influence of the American teacher. If they have had any training at all it has been from teachers whose qualifications harmonize about as much with the business in hand as the coat of that Missouri congressman.

The American teacher knows that his teacher should have some credit for the kind of home that he makes and he knows that for glory or shame there will something be set down to his account for the kind of homes that own pupils will make. He knows that bad boys and girls are sometimes found among the pupils of the best of teachers just as ex-

cellent soil and favorable seasons sometimes seem to produce crooked trees and blasted ears of corn, but if the majority under such conditions were crooked and blasted, what we now call the rule we would be forced to call the exception that nature plays with the animal as well as the vegetable kingdom and the exception is no more the rule in the one than in the other; if whole communities are going astray there is something radically wrong with the instruction.

THE BAPTISTS' DEMAND.

THE INDICTMENTS AGAINST SOUTHERN BRUTALITY—THE PRESIDENT
APPEALED TO.

(Continued from last Number.)

The peaceable tenor that characterized these annual meetings aforetime was disturbed at Indianapolis by the narration and knowledge of the terrible outrages and maltreatment that are being perpetrated upon many of our southern brethren almost daily. These, added to the earnest request made in these meetings for prayer to God for the deliverance of our brethren, who were represented in these meetings by preachers of the gospel who were well acquainted with their condition from actual observation, moved every heart among us. As the meetings progressed, the feelings of our delegates were subdued until the Georgia delegation arrived, among whom was the president of our Foreign Mission convention of the United States, Rev. E. K. Love, D. D., and Mrs. Jane H. Garnett, several of whom having been terribly mutilated as the result of a savage assault made upon them by a band of ruffians at Baxley, Ga., who dragged and drove them from the cars for no other ground than that they were riding in a first-class car, as their tickets entitled them, assaulting them with stones, clubs, knives, pistols and other deadly instruments. When our brethren saw with their own eyes these unmistakable evidences of oppression, knowing these delegates as distinguished far and near as peaceable, honest, well-educated, temperate gentlemen, and realizing that things were coming to a terrible pass when our ministers of the gospel find it unsafe for their lives and persons to visit our annual gatherings to assist in their humble way in solving the problems of America, strong men were moved to copious tears. The Baptist bodies then in mass meeting assembled appointed us without a dissenting voice as a committee to memorialize the president of the whole people, voicing the sentiments of the delegates present and those of our people, laying

before the president our grievances and asking him to bring our wrongs to the attention of congress for the most thorough and impartial investigation and for the enforcement and enactment of appropriate laws for the protection and security of our people.

Mr. President, we are simply ministers of the gospel. We come not as partisans, and hence have no selfish ends to subserve. Our object here is simply to voice the oppression of a guileless and inoffensive people and to lay before the nation and the chief executive thereof a case that demands a settlement upon no other basis than that of justice. That we are a peaceable people and desire to live and cultivate peace with our white neighbors are manifested from two considerations. First, our national Baptist bodies, preferring that before we make any appeal to any sublunary power we commit our cause into the hands of a just God, did set apart the third Sabbath in October in all of our churches as a day of fasting and prayer to the God of nations for the deliverance of our brethren from oppression and outrage, for the state and national governments under which we live and for the very men who would shoot us down. Second, in all of these massacres, lynchings, outrages and intimidations, the negroes are recorded as the sufferers and victims, while the white men escape with rarely an exception.

The people we speak for are averse to a race conflict and to giving vent to a spirit of retaliation, preferring rather the vindication and protection of the laws impartially administered, and the commitment of our cause into the hand of Him who enjoined us, 'vengeance is mine, I will repay.' Our grievance, Mr. President, is a real one. The American people have learned that within the last three months more than one hundred Negroes have been brutally slaughtered in Mississippi.

They are aware of the inhuman butchery of colored people in Louisiana for the last twelve months, along with the burning down of our churches and school houses; of the intimidation and banishment of colored officials elected by a legal authority in Crittenden county, Arkansas, and Fort Bend county, Texas; of the driving away from home and family of colored editors in the south; of the almost daily lynchings of Negroes all over the south upon mere suspicion of crime, of deprivation of our right to vote and of having our votes counted, especially in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, and of the brutal, barbarous assault upon quiet, intelligent, sober and defenseless colored preachers in Georgia, added to the midnight raids on the homes of inoffensive Negroes near Atlanta, Georgia, for the purpose of stripping them of their clothes and lacerating their bodies till blood flows, 'for the fun of it,' as they say.

The newspapers, even, from those localities have acquainted the nation with these outrages. There is a reign of terror, Mr. President, in

several of our southern states that is unparalleled since the days of ku-kluxism. We are at a loss to account for it, unless it is the result of desperation of bad men disappointed in their political aspirations and desires, and aggravated and impelled by inflammatory editorials on the imaginary danger of Negro domination and the recital in southern newspapers of the probability of some Negro uprising or race war here and there, when no such probability ever existed, would avenge themselves upon the Negro as the most willing and ready victim; or the attempt of some thoughtless, malignant persons to drive the Negroes to the desperation of precipitating a race conflict, in order that the whites, well organized, armed with Winchester rifles and backed by the state governments, may exterminate the Negroes, who are unorganized, unarmed and defenseless, and thus solve what they are pleased to call the race problem of the south. In either case it is systematic, well-devised and deep-laid conspiracy to injure the Negroes, who desire no race trouble. We do not claim, Mr. President, that these outrages come from the better class of whites in the south, or have their sanction; for there is a progressive part of our white fellow citizens in the south who deprecate such flagrant and high handed outrages. But that element of our citizens, we apprehend, is in the minority, inasmuch that the public opinion of the dominant class is one of which our southern states sustain with applause, its chief executive in making requisitions throughout the country for the delivery of prize fighters for punishment, while it is mute and indifferent to the preconcerted and systematic slaughter of more than one hundred Negroes without due process of law. While it is evident that the sentiment of the progressive class of our white fellow citizens is against these brutalities, yet that sentiment is not sufficiently strong and independent to force the perpetrators of these crimes to condign punishment. In nearly all of the cases we have mentioned the state officials have not made the least judicial investigation. We have no redress in the courts, for the machinery of the law is chiefly in the hands of the demagogues who owe their position to some of these outrages. Therefore in the absence of local public sentiment in our favor on the part of the dominant class in the south, confident that the best conscience of our nation is opposed to the oppression of any class of our citizens, and believing that oppression and injustice are not conducive to the cultivation of a good and loyal citizenship, we would respectfully make the following request of the chief executive of the nation: that our grievances be laid before the attorney general for the most thorough investigation; that the provisions of the constitution be impartially enforced, especially section II of article XIV; that the president at his earliest opportunity recommend the enactment of suitable laws in keeping with article XIV;

sections I and V for the protection of that class of citizens who are being deprived 'of life, liberty and property, without due process of law,' and who are denied 'the equal protection of the laws,' and that congress be further recommended to enact appropriate legislation for the enforcement of article XV in keeping with section II of said article. And now, Mr. President, as it is the glory of American citizenship that it receives ample protection of the stars and stripes abroad, an humble loyal part of our citizens crave the same protection at home. Our only plea is simple justice, to the end that we may enjoy the inalienable rights with which we have been endowed by our Creator, among which 'are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'

Respectfully Submitted.

Rev. H. J. Europe, Ala.; Rev. C. H. Parish, Ky.; Rev. J. A. Stewart, Kan.; Rev. B. Hillman, Ill.; Rev. Wm. Gray, Ill.; Rev. J. L. Cohron, Mo.; Rev. M. W. Gilbert, Tenn.; Rev. C. H. Lyons, Ga.; Rev. W. H. Anderson, Ind.; Rev. G. B. Howard, Va.; Rev. Jas. Smothers, Miss.; Rev. H. C. Bailey, Fla.; Rev. G. H. McDaniel, Mo.; Rev. John Marks, La.; Rev. E. H. McDonald, Mich.; Rev. J. M. Meeks, Ohio; Rev. J. H. Riddle, W. Va.; Rev. N. T. Dorson, Tex.; Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. C.; Rev. Harvey Johnson, Md.

The next Committee was headed by Dr. W. F. Simmons, of Louisville, Ky. This committee called on Friday and presented the following address:

To the Hon. Benj. Harrison, President of the United States:

Sir: At the American National Baptist meetings held in Indianapolis, September 15 to 17 the following resolutions, having been read and referred to the committee on resolutions, were reported back to the house and after amendment adopted.

'And whereas our political leaders are few, and even those we have cannot reach the people, therefore it becomes our duty to speak out upon all questions that affect our people, socially and economically as well as religiously; and whereas God has always, in all ages, instructed and ruled the people through his own chosen and called men; therefore, be it resolved that this convention believes that the truest interest of our people in their accepting the Horace Greely doctrine of 'Young men, go west,' where they may obtain a recognition and grow up with the country, resolved that the poor and oppressed people have always migrated westward, where they could get lands in new countries, and thus grow up with them and become the great men of these new communities; resolved that we ask the president of the United States to recommend to the United States congress an appropriation of \$50,000,000 to aid the colored people to leave the south.'

Mr. President: we, the undersigned, were appointed a committee to lay these resolutions before you. Therefore, your petitioners beg leave to recite the wrongs their brethren undergo as a just cause, in the opinion of honorable, industrious and fair-minded men, why we appear before you. We feel that a righteous statement of our case should be made to our great executive head and to the law-making power of this vast republic. Our wrongs date from 1620, A. D., to 1889, A. D. From the time we landed, few in number, but still weak in the means of self protection. We pass over the long siege of American slavery, because it is familiar to the citizens of the world. We pass over our record in the war, as it has become a matter of fame how as soldiers and slaves we attracted the admiration of the world. And we come to our condition since the war and beg leave to tell the sufferings of our people in the south.

Though outraged and slain in many quarters, we have borne the slightest insults and the most bloody murder with equal fortitude. We have appealed to our president and to the congress of the United States before and we cannot see that we are protected from any source. Our friends seem powerless and high crime is still rampant. Occasionally there is an investigation or a long debate, but our lives and property are still insecure and outrageous laws are still being made against us.

We do not appeal to you nor to congress as partisans, yet, as the long, life-time allies of the sentiment your party expresses and by which you hold power today, we do hereby request that our wrongs be righted. We make the following indictment against many sections of the lower south. Let it be remembered that we do not speak of every section of the south, for many sections are quiet and peaceable.

THE INDICTMENT.

We charge: 1. That we are murdered without cause. 2. That we are not given justice before the law. 3. That we are driven from our homes and our property destroyed by fire. 4. That we are denied the right to vote, or, if allowed to vote, our vote is destroyed by fraud. 5. That when elected we are ejected from office by revolutionary proceedings. 6. That we are kept in constant dread by the parade of arms and denunciatory threats through every campaign. 7. That our churches are burned and our meetings disbanded. 8. That the opposing press can say what it pleases while our press is muzzled. 9. That our progress is checked in every way, living under such unhappy and miserable circumstances.

Now, since these things are so, we have come to ask you to lay before congress these resolutions and this memorial, praying that \$50,000,000, more or less, be appropriated to aid those who are thus situated to leave

the south and settle on western lands. It is no fault of ours that we are outraged and murdered. We would gladly have our people stay in the land where they were born, for we all love the south. Indeed, we love its people and would gladly live in peace with them.

We are not anarchists, communists nor socialists, but true Americans who love their country. If the pilgrim fathers could come across the waters for peace and safety, why should we not go west among a friendly people? It is useless to hope for a change of sentiment in these sections of the south. 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.'

Nearly a generation has passed since the war, and this state of affairs still continues. If it be argued that the United States can do nothing for us, it would seem that we are not citizens of the United States, but citizens of the states in which we live.

If this be so, it is apparent that we have no redress within the state, and the only remedy then would be to leave unfriendly states and go to friendly ones. The colored people are poor, made so and kept so. Some may dispute the propriety of this appeal, but the best vindication of our effort herein will be to give these people a chance to leave these sections.

The exodus of the Israelites from Egypt will be a small-sized excursion compared to the move there will be in the south. The committee representing 1,362,273 communicants who are your petitioners, do not bear any malice nor ill-will to the people of the south, nor do our constituents. We are sure the newspapers will daily corroborate our indictment in some form or other. Trusting we may have your good will in this matter and no desire to be unfair to the quiet and peaceful sections of the south, but only to speak of sections known to cover the descriptions mentioned, we are yours respectfully, Wm. J. Simmons, C. H. Parish, W. B. Johnson, J. A. Taylor, H. W. Bouey.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S MESSAGE ON EDUCATION AND THE RIGHTS OF COLORED PEOPLE.

The interest of the general government in the education of the people found an early expression, not only in the thoughtful and sometimes warning utterances of our ablest statesmen, but in liberal appropriations from the common resources for the support of education in the new states. No one will deny that it is of the gravest national concern that those who hold the ultimate control of all public affairs should have the necessary intelligence wisely to direct and determine them. National aid to education has heretofore taken the form of land grants, and in that form the

constitutional power of congress to promote the education of the people is not seriously questioned. I do not think it can be successfully questioned when the form is changed to that of a direct grant of money from the treasury.

Such aid should be, as it always has been, suggested by some exceptional conditions. The sudden emancipation of the slaves of the south, the bestowal of the suffrage which soon followed, and the impairment of the ability of the states where these new citizens were chiefly found to adequately provide educational facilities presented not only exceptional but unexampled conditions. That the situation has been much ameliorated, there is no doubt. The ability of the states has been greatly increased. Much work remains to be done, and I think the general government should lend its aid by legislation. The suggestion of a national grant in aid of education grows chiefly out of the condition and needs of the emancipated slaves and their descendants, and the relief should, as near as possible, while necessarily proceeding upon some general lines, be applied to the need that suggested it. It is essential, if much good is to be accomplished, that the sympathy and active interest of the people of the states should be enlisted and that the methods adopted should be such as to stimulate and not to supplant local taxation for school purposes.

As one congress cannot bind a succeeding one in such a case, and as the effort must be in some degree experimental, I recommend that any appropriation made for this purpose be so limited in annual amount and as to the time over which it is to extend as will, on the one hand, give the local school authorities opportunity to make the best use of the first year's allowance, and on the other deliver them from the temptation to unduly postpone the assumption of the whole burden themselves.

RIGHTS OF COLORED CITIZENS.

The colored people did not intrude themselves upon us ; they were brought here in chains and held in the communities where they are now chiefly found, by a cruel slave code. Happily for both races, they are now free. They have, from a standpoint of ignorance and poverty, which was our shame, not theirs, made remarkable advances in education and in the acquisition of property. They have, as a people, shown themselves to be friendly and faithful toward the white race under temptations of tremendous strength. They have their representatives in the national cemeteries, where a grateful government has gathered the ashes of those who died in its defence. They have furnished to our regular army regiments that have won high praise from their commanding officers for courage and soldierly qualities and for fidelity to the enlistment contract. In civil life they are now the toilers of the community, making

their full contribution to the widening streams of prosperity which those communities are receiving. Their sudden withdrawal would stop production and bring disorder into the household as well as the shop. Generally they do not desire to quit their homes, and their employers resent the interference of the immigration agents who seek to stimulate such a desire.

But notwithstanding all this, in many parts of our country where the colored population is large, the people of that race are, by various devices, deprived of an effective exercise of their political rights, and of many of their civil rights. The wrong does not expend itself upon those whose votes are suppressed. Every constituency in the union is wronged.

It has been the hope of every patriot that a sense of justice and respect of the law would work a gradual cure for the flagrant evils. Surely, no one supposes that the present can be accepted as a permanent condition. If it be said that these communities must work out this problem for themselves, we have a right to ask whether they are at work upon it. Do they suggest any solution? When and under what conditions is the black man to have a free ballot? When is he, in fact, to have those full civil rights which have so long been his in law? When is that equality of influence which our form of government has intended to secure to the electors to be restored? This generation should courageously face these grave questions, and not leave them as a heritage of woe to the next. The consultation should proceed with candor, calmness, and great patience; upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty. No question in our country can be at rest except upon the firm basis of justice and of the law.

I earnestly invoke the attention of congress to the consideration of such measures within its well defined constitutional powers as will secure to all our people a free exercise of the right of suffrage and every other civil right under the constitution and laws of the United States.

No evil, however deplorable, can justify the assertion either on the part of the executive or of congress of powers not granted; but both will be highly blamable if all the powers granted were not wisely but firmly used to correct these evils. The power to take the whole direction and control of the election of members of the house of representatives is clearly given to the general government. A partial and qualified supervision of these elections is now provided for by law, and in my opinion this law may be so strengthened and extended as to secure on the whole better results than can be attained by a law taking all the processes of such election into federal control. The colored man should be protected

in all of his relations to the federal government, whether a litigant juror, or witness in our courts, as an elector for members of congress, or as a peaceful traveler upon our interstate railways.

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

BY REV. J. D. PETERSON.

'Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise.'—Prov. 20:1.

Much has been said and written on the important subject of temperance. The ground has been occupied by those who have done so ample justice to the subject, that it no longer has the charm of novelty to recommend it to the consideration of the public. While, however, it has lost this temporary auxiliary to its success, it has gained an important position in the public mind and is now exerting a most happy and saving influence over the moral habits of thousands of the inhabitants of the United States.

From the venerable Wesley, who was among the first and most efficient who proclaimed open war against intemperance, to the late efforts of temperance societies, this subject has been most ably handled in almost every point of view. Notwithstanding this, however, it is the indispensable duty on every lover of God and man to set his face against the growing and destructive evil of the present day, and help to reiterate the voice of warning from one end of this vast continent to the other. This is the more necessary, as the vice of intemperance has of late years assumed a more bold and daring stand, and unblushingly carries on its work of destruction in the very face of the sun. Neither the thunders of the divine law, nor the disapprobation of public sentiment have been able either to drive or shame this vice from our land.

A time was, indeed, when it was deemed so disgraceful for a man to be guilty of intoxication, that those who were drunken were drunker in the night, but at this age of improvement and refinement, this vice has received, and does still so often receive the sanction of the daylight examples of many of the rich and otherwise influential parts of society that it is no uncommon thing to see men lying intoxicated in the street in open day. Public sentiment is not yet sufficiently armed with the terrors of disgrace and infamy to drive this vile practice into the darkness of midnight, but should the efforts which we are now making go on with a steady tide of successful operation the time is not far distant when intemperance shall take its proper place and character among the unfruitful works of darkness. This I say because drunkenness I believe

we shall ever have, while sin, strong drink and sinners are to be found on the earth; while we have temperate drinkers we shall ever be infested with drunkards, for the latter are manufactured from the former. Much however, may be done, indeed, much has already been done to lessen the magnitude of this national calamity and produce the happiest effects on society. Many a wife's heart has been disburdened of an almost insupportable load of grief at the reformation of an intemperate husband, many a parent whose gray hairs a profligate son was bringing down with sorrow to the grave, has been made to rejoice and say 'Rejoice with me, for my son was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found.'

Many a habitation, before as dreary as the very chambers of death, has been lighted up with the lamp of prosperity and the smiles of friendship. Yea, through the instrumentality of the friends of temperance, many a brand has been plucked from this all-devouring fire and given back with great rejoicing to the bosoms of his friends and to the church of God, and to insure success this work must still be pursued.

We now invite the serious and prayerful attention of this congregation to our selection. First, 'Wine is a mocker.' Wine, or the simple juice of the grape expressed, was probably the only intoxicating liquor used by the ancients. The distillation of ardent spirits by a chemical process owes its invention to a more modern date, and is doubtless among the many inventions sought out by man in his departure from that original rectitude in which he was first created.

We use the term wine at present, however, as a general term, including in it every species of intoxicating liquor used by men at the present day. We are not to understand by the expression of the inspired writer, that ardent spirits, of themselves considered, have any more deleterious effects upon the human constitution than arsenic or any other substance, either of the mineral or vegetable kingdom. Wine will mock no man if it be carefully abstained from. It is only when provoked and irritated by the hard usage of the intemperate, that it becomes an enemy to the reputation and constitution of mankind.

The American teacher, whether in Harvard, Yale, or in the country district, with less than a dozen pupils, is still his royal self; he aims high and sometimes hits what he aims at. With this teacher in every school room, America seems to be the place that God has chosen to raise whole nations to the highest plane of civilization in a single generation.

George Augustus Sala, in 'America Revisited,' says: 'While traveling in America never cease to bear this in mind, that this is a wholesale and not a retail country. Everything is on an extensive scale; nothing is petty.' If he had stopped here we would have considered it a compliment, but he goes on and explains: 'If you want a good cigar at

a reasonable rate you must get some friend to introduce you to a direct importer of that article and buy a couple of boxes. You may get good and comparatively cheap claret if you buy it by the cask and bottle it yourself; only the trouble is that the venerable and elderly traveler who has been accustomed from his youth upward to drink a moderate pint of St. Julian at his dinner, does not see his way toward traveling up and down that enormous continent with a hogshead of wine in his baggage.' That is a novel way to indicate what our retail merchants have to sell. The same kind of ridicule is brought against the moral philosophy practically taught from the several school houses of the land. Such as: 'If you want to meet a cultured lady or gentleman, pupil or teacher, in America, you will have to go to Harvard or Yale, Vassar or Dartmouth, where they are manufactured, for if you allow them to depart to the several states of that vast country they suddenly become as adulterated as the masses to which they go. The bane of that country is its instructors; "Like priest like people." ' If there are any excuses for such criticism the country, at heart, is not proud of them. But the reassuring signs of the times are that the principles of Jonathan Edwards and Horace Mann in American pedagogy still light the road to greatness.

Hence the expression is rather to be understood of the intemperate use of ardent spirits, than of any intrinsic evil existing in the substance itself; by the creative energy of an inimitable figure the sacred writer has here given to the vice of intemperance a kind of personification.

There is attributed to it all the good intellect and intelligence, all the good sense and sobriety, and all the decency and good behavior of the drunkard. It is represented as employing these powers and faculties in the contemptuous ridicule of poor human nature, and surely there never was a truer character given of intemperance. Man, undegraded by this contemptible vice, is a noble structure, whether we contemplate his body or his mind. He is characterized by intelligence, by a faculty of reasoning, by an accurate judgment, in many things, and by power of communicating the secrets of his heart to his fellow beings.

But in each of these he suffers material loss by intemperance. If he has been a man of knowledge and general intelligence his knowledge by inebriation is reduced to the circumscribed limit of an idiot. Though his giant mind was able to grasp the most profound subjects and reason upon them with the most philosophical accuracy, intemperance paralyzes the powers and leaves its poor degraded victim at best but a mere wreck or shadow of his former self.

Had he the reputation of a man of sound judgment in matters of either church or state, intemperance has blasted it all and left the miserable wretch without either private or public confidence. Alas,

how changed ! intemperance has played the fool with his understanding and left him the object of commiseration to the wise and good and of jesting and ridicule to the rude sons of folly and vice.

How often are its effects such upon the human body in relaxing and paralyzing its muscular powers, that the noble edifice, designed to be the habitation of an immortal soul and the indwelling of the deity, is thrown from its position to a level with the meanest of brutes of the earth.

At the feet of this gigantic monster lie a promiscuous mass of ruins : the accurate philosopher, the able statesman, the useful physician, the gentleman of the bar, and we regret to say sometimes the learned and otherwise useful and able divine. These, together with a mixed multitude of rich and poor, high and low, black and white, male and female, have all been offered in sacrifice to Bacchus, while around his altar, yet smoking with ten thousand victims, the friends of God, of humanity and of their country, stand in silent grief, or break forth into strong cries and tears, saying ' Spare thy people, O Lord, nor give thy heritage to reproach.'

Whether then we view intemperance in its immediate effects on the intellectual or physical system of man or in the general character which it stamps upon him, the truth of the proposition is abundantly sustained.

Intemperance degrades and mocks human nature, it assimilates its victim into its own image and likeness, constitutes him a mocker and renders him an object of derision and sport to the rude.

Secondly : strong drink is raging—intemperance is inflammatory in its effects. This proposition is fully sustained, whether it be laid down to the body or the mind of man. By intemperance I would not only understand the use of ardent spirits to entire intoxication, but also the free and habitual use of it where no such immediate effects follow. I consider every stage of intemperance, from the commencement of temperate drinkers to the habit of intoxication, only as so many types of the same dreadful moral disease. Wherever it prevails in the human system the same order of harmony and dependency of parts is observable, and it is equally apparent that this order must be preserved or the most alarming symptoms will appear and the most fatal consequences follow. We have the opinions of medical writers, that the free and habitual use of ardent spirits is calculated to destroy this order, lay the foundation of numerous and painful diseases and ultimate in premature death.

' Drunkenness,' says Dr. Beman, ' is itself a disease, a disease which is performing the work of death with a more desolating vengeance than the yellow fever or the plague. In almost every case it proves fatal ; look at the drunkard : it is often difficult to tell, taking the census, whether you ought to number him with the living or the dead. He is already a naked

skeleton or a bloated corpse, a walking mummy—when he can walk—a mass of animated putrefaction.'

He is dead, while he lives ; but this evil comes not single-handed. Ask the physician, and he will tell you that many of the most afflicting diseases which are cutting down our dying race originated from it. By strongly exciting the stomach, it soon destroys its tone, brings on loss of appetite, induces dyspepsia and lays the foundation for distressing and fatal complaints of the bowels. It produces inflammation of the liver, and this often terminates in the obstruction, enlargement, suppuration, and even schirrus of that important organ ; jaundice and dropsy follow on the fatal train. By increasing arterial action, it preys upon the delicate structure of the lungs, paints the hectic flush upon the cheeks and heaves the hoarse and deep-seated cough that prophesies of the sepulcher.

To this cause must be referred a large proportion of the cases of rheumatism, and a still larger proportion of gout. It acts most powerfully upon the brain, producing inflammation of that organ and its surrounding membrane, and inducing epilepsy, palsy and madness. But the most destroying, distressing of all diseases is the brain fever of the drunkard. If there is any instance in which man at the present day is delivered over to the foul buffeting of foul spirits, the drunkard's mania furnishes that example.

The person who is afflicted with this disease feels himself in hell, while on earth. Intemperance inflames the appetite. To give the history of the commencement of intemperance, in every case would be impossible, for by the inventive genius of wicked men the use of ardent spirits has been introduced into almost all companies and made the bond of union in almost all friendships. No work of magnitude can be begun, continued or consummated without the use of the deadly poison. What wonder then that the habit should be formed while the occasions are so numerous and the incentives so strong, to commence the practice of drinking. No person, it is believed, suffers so exquisitely from thirst as the drunkard. His appetite for strong drink becomes so keen that he will part with the very last cent he has on earth to gratify his thirst. He will snatch from the very mouths of his own offspring the last morsel of bread, that he may pour it down his own throat in liquid fire. Intemperance inflames the passion. The principal passions affected by intemperance are lust and anger. The former we leave for the consideration of every individual, only remarking by the way, that perhaps not less than ninety-nine out of a hundred of lewd persons of both sexes are intemperate drinkers of ardent spirits. This is a most powerfully exciting cause of those vile passions of the human heart which disgrace man and sink him beneath the dignity of a human being.

Intemperance most seriously effects the angry disposition of the fallen heart. It so effectually blunts the perceptive powers of the mind, as, on the one hand, to inspire a false confidence, and on the other to render the drunkard so extremely irritable that the least supposed injury is by him magnified into a designed insult. He falls into a flood of passion while in anger like the troubled ocean; casts up mire and dirt; he is unfit to be reasoned with. Indeed, while intoxicated, he cannot be numbered with the rational beings. He is prepared for war, either with God or man. Few crimes exist but what have their origin in the use of ardent spirits; in riots, in cases of assault and battery, you are sure to find the drunkard. As conscience continues to go down, he can whet the assassin's dagger and plant it in the unsuspecting bosom. Go to your state prisons and you will find that most of their tenants were men of intemperate habits till they were arrested for crime and reformed by the strong arm of the law.

Third, intemperance is deceptive in its nature and influence; whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise. In the first sentence of our text intemperance assumes the character of one of the rude sons of folly pouring contempt upon human nature, but in this it assumes the character of a deceiver of mankind. Various are the pretences urged by the intemperate for the use of ardent spirits. It is pretended that distilled liquor possesses great medical properties, so wonderful in its nature that it can act in directly opposite ways. In the warm season of the year it is so cooling, and in the winter it is so warming. This, however, is all a deception; it has fully been tested by many fatal experiments that man will perish with the cold much sooner when in a state of intoxication than otherwise, and those who use it for its cooling qualities are equally deceived.

For it only adds fire to their already excited systems. It is true that for the time being it raises the tone of animal feeling somewhat above the usual standard, but when it has spent itself the reaction brought on thereby sinks the spirits far below its usual standard. Nature, however, during this conflict having sustained a loss of strength, a greater quantity of stimulus becomes necessary to produce the same degree of animation; the result is that the man who, one year ago, drank but a very small quantity at a time, now drinks twice or three times as much. Thus the deception goes on unperceived by himself and perhaps in direct opposition to his conscience in his oft-repeated resolution until his folly is consummated in his becoming a confirmed sot.

Another pretext urged for the use of intoxicating liquor is that it drowns sorrow. Strange infatuation, to throw yourself into the deep to still the tempest. Plunge into a sea of sorrow to drown a drop of

trouble. There is not one instance in which the deceptive nature of this vice more clearly discovers itself than it does in this false notion. It only adds a deeper shade to the cloud of misfortune, which is settling around his dejected head, and serves to plant an additional thorn in the pillow of his distress. How deceptive that influence which, because a man has failed in business, inclines him to deprive himself of reason by intoxication at a time, when, of all others, he most needs the right use of reason and judgment. How deceptive that influence which, because a man has severe domestic troubles, inclines him to have recourse to his bottle for relief, when of all other times he most needs the calm and deliberate use of all his mental faculties. How deceptive that influence which, because a man has lost the rank of his parentage, leads him to seek one among the meanest brutes of the mire. These are not mere creations of fancy. The history of ten thousand drunkards proves them to be facts.

(Continued in next number.)

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL AFRO-AMERICAN LEAGUES.

SECTION 1.—Any person of the age of eighteen years and upwards (without regard to race, color or sex) can become a member of this league by subscribing to its constitution and by-laws, and by the payment of — entrance fee, and a monthly assessment of —.

SECTION 2.—The objects of this league are to protest against taxation without representation ; to secure a more equitable distribution of school funds ; to insist upon a fair and impartial trial by judge and a jury of peers in all causes at law wherein we may be a party ; to resist by all legal and reasonable means mob and lynch law, whereof we are made the victims, and to insist upon the arrest and punishment of all offenders against our legal rights ; to resist the tyrannical usage of railroad and steamboat and other corporations, and the violent and insulting conduct of their employes in all instances where we are concerned, by prosecution of all such corporations, and their employes in state and federal courts ; to labor for the reformation of all penal institutions where barbarous, cruel and unchristian treatment of convicts is practiced ; and to assist healthy immigration from terror-ridden sections to other and more law-abiding sections.

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SECTION 3.—A general tax of \$1 per annum on all members of this branch league shall be levied and covered by the treasurer into the treasury of the National league to carry out the objects set forth in section 2.

SECTION 4.—The objects of this league shall be conserved by the creation of a healthy public opinion, through the medium of public meetings and addresses, and by appealing to the courts for redress of all denial of legal and constitutional rights; the purpose of this league being to secure the ends desired through peaceable and lawful methods.

SECTION 5.—This league is in no sense a partisan body, and no man shall be debarred from membership therein because of his political opinions.

BY-LAWS.

(1.) The name of this organization shall be the Afro-American League of —, No.—.

(2.) The officers of this league shall be one president, two vice-presidents, one secretary and two assistant secretaries, one treasurer, two chaplains, two sergeants-at-arms; and an executive committee of five; the officers to be elected (as the league shall determine).

(3.) This branch league shall meet at — the first Tuesday in each month (or oftener at the discretion of the league), at 8 o'clock p. m., with open or secret meetings (at the discretion of the league).

(4.) This branch league shall be subject to the laws hereafter made by the National Afro American league. Respectfully submitted,

T. THOMAS FORTUNE.

HAYTI AND ITS BEARING ON THE RACE PROBLEM.

BY W. H. TWIGGS.

The Haytian republic, by her internal dissensions, commercial importance and bearing on the African race in general, has become of late a subject of so great moment that some of the best writers and thinkers of the age are turning their eyes toward that island and watching her every movement.

Only a few months ago, when President Harrison had the diplomatic appointment under consideration, the press commented considerably as to the expediency of appointing a white man, in view of the fact that the Haytian republic was then in the midst of a rebellion and a crisis in her governmental affairs was threatened, and the selection of

diplomat was of great importance; but the president after considerable deliberation appointed Hon. Frederick Douglass.

The following will give some idea of Mr. Douglass' influence with the present administration :

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Hayti, Nov. 14.—The presentation of the United States minister, Hon. Frederick Douglass, took place at the palace of the capital today, on which occasion Minister Douglass presented his letter of credence, and also his predecessor's letter of recall. Following the introduction of the party by M. Firmin, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Douglass read his address, a short, terse expression of the feelings of the United States toward Hayti. In closing Mr. Douglass said :

'Your excellency will allow me a word personal in part to myself, as it may foreshadow the spirit in which I hope to be able to discharge the duties incumbent upon me in the quality of minister resident near your government. Mine has been a long and eventful life, identified with the maintenance of principles illustrated in the example of Hayti. My country has conferred upon me many marks of its favor ; but in view of the heroic devotion to liberty and independence exemplified by your brave countrymen in the darkest hours of their history, I can say, in all sincerity, that I have received at the hands of my government no honor that I prize more highly than the honor of my appointment as minister resident and consul general to the republic of Hayti.'

The president responded :

'Mr. Minister, I am happy to receive at your hand the letter of credence which accredits you as minister resident and consul general near my government. The assurances of cordial esteem and high consideration which his excellency, the president of the United States, expresses to me by you, are most flattering, and I pray you to be the medium for the expression of the same sentiment on my part. The government of the United States has constantly given the republic of Hayti proofs of its friendship and generosity, and when it is represented by a man of your importance, our relations will become more friendly. The interests of all civilized people are common ; they have but one object ; their development of the arts and sciences, the discoveries and inventions which are the glory of our time. All nationalities should concur fraternally in this great work ; and while conserving their individuality, each nation has the right to be proud of its autonomy. In the name of the republic, then, I thank his excellency, the president of the United States, for the expression to see Hayti fully participating in this tendency of your age. For you, Mr. Minister, your reputation is known in two hemispheres. You are the incarnation of the idea which Hayti pur-

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sues—the intellectual and moral development of men of the African race by personal effort and intellectual culture. † † † The United States government has already given many proofs of consideration and esteem for the republic of Hayti, but it can never give a higher evidence of interest than it has in sending you to us as its minister resident and consul general.'

President Hippolyte in the above address seems to have the idea of a higher civilization, but the characteristics of the Haytian people have been of such a rebellious nature that her standing with nations of high civilization has constantly deteriorated from that high standard which it attained while under the regime of Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Some of our writers have advanced theories as to her future. The *Chicago Tribune*, in an editorial some weeks ago, advocated the acquisition of Hayti to the United States as a solution to the race problem in the south. He argues that this would bring about a greater commercial interest between the two countries, since it would be a nearer market for those similar products which are now imported from the far-off East India islands, and that the protection of the United States, both countries having a similar idea of a republican government, would have a tendency to quell those rebellious insurrections that have been a detriment to her success as a nation. All these things accomplished, a general prosperity would follow, and with this condition of affairs he claims a great many of the southern Negroes would voluntarily, or by a little inducement, emigrate to that island, to share the prosperity of their brothers, and those who remained could demand such rights as they desired, since it stands to reason that the fewer the laborers the more the power to demand those rights would increase.

If the acquisition of Hayti by the United States is a possibility, which we will not discuss either pro or con in this article, we do not think it would be a panacea for the ills of the Negro in the south. We must first consider that there are six millions of Negroes in the south, who are not only aggrieved because of the indignities heaped upon them, but they are hardly able to secure for their families a decent living because of the poor pay they receive, and this is generally given in orders on the stores owned by their employers; or the land owners, who, when the year is up, insist upon a settlement, manage to cheat him out of any amount which he may have earned over and above his mere living. By this infamous store system, which is so prevalent throughout the south, he is unable to lay aside a dollar for a rainy day.

So we can see the inconsistency of this theory, since Hayti, with a population of 700,000 and an area of only 26,000 square miles, which is to a great extent mountainous, could not, even if she were in a prosper-

ous condition, throw open her doors for the immigration of any great mass of people. Then the characteristics of the two races are widely different. On the one hand, the Haytian people have been schooled in the political discipline of the Spanish and French nations and the Roman Catholic creed, while, on the other hand, the Negro of the south has the American principles and the Protestant faith so deeply imbued in him that it places a barrier between any such fraternal relation. If it is expedient for the Negro to leave the south to better his condition, let him emigrate to the northwest, where he can at least have a chance to stand up for his rights as a man and a citizen of the United States.

OUR EXCHANGES AND READING ROOM.

QUARTERLIES.

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AFRICAN METHODIST, Chicago, REV. L. H. REYNOLDS, Ed.
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WEEKLIES.

THE FREEMAN, Indianapolis, Ind., EDWARD E. COOPER, Ed.
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN RECORDER, Selma, Ala., REV. M. E. BRYANT,
THE BAPTIST VANGUARD, Little Rock, Ark.
THE WASHINGTON BEE, Washington.
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THE AFRO-AMERICAN SPOKESMAN, Pittsburg, Pa., G. W. CLINTON, Ed.
THE TORCHLIGHT APPEAL, Fort Worth, Texas, REV. S. D. RUSSELL, Ed.
THE WESTERN AMERICAN, Chicago.
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SPRINGFIELD CAPITAL, Springfield, Ill.
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THE APPEAL, St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Chicago, J. Q. ADAMS, Ed.
CHICAGO CONSERVATOR.
THE PROGRESS, Bay Winette, Ala., S. J. BOYKIN, Ed.
THE SENTINEL, Chicago, D. D. DAWSON, Ed.
THE CLEVELAND GAZETTE, Cleveland, Ohio, H. C. SMITH, Ed.
THE DETROIT PLAINDEALER, Detroit, Mich.

EDITORIALS.

WE take great pleasure in publishing the constitution governing local Afro-American leagues, as proposed by Hon. T. Thomas Fortune, of New York. Local leagues should be duly organized in every community where a sufficient number of Afro-Americans can be found. Then let each local league be represented in the national convention, Jan. 15, 1890, to organize a national league. The convention will meet in the city of Chicago, Ill., on the above date, and will doubtless be the most significant meeting ever held by the colored people of this country. Let every true lover of the race strive to make it one of great benefit to the whole race and country.

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THE AFRO-AMERICAN BUDGET is taking its place among the first-class magazines of the day. Every mail brings us good words and new subscribers. We have on our subscription list some of the best citizens of this country, of both races. They are interested in the vital questions that are discussed from time to time in its pages.

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ALAS, the hero of the lost cause is no more! Jefferson Davis died

in the city of New Orleans, Dec. 6, 1889, in the eighty-first year of his age. His was an eventful life from beginning to end. No one can point to a single parallel in history. A man of strong convictions, supported by a will that was stronger than iron. While there was much in his career that we cannot praise, yet there was much in his character worthy of respect. The south weeps at his grave while a generous north, with a mantle of charity, wraps his memory in the dreamless grave of the past.

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THE Blair bill should receive careful attention and a hearty support by the present congress. It is a republican bill before a republican congress, and if it does not pass into effect then shame on the republican party. The people are desirous of its passage because they are conscious of the fact that the people of the south must be educated, and that can only be accomplished by federal law and support. It is useless to wait on the future financial development of the south for means to educate her millions of illiterate children. The Blair bill, if allowed to go into effect, will meet the exigencies of the situation and give

us as good educational facilities in the south as we have in the north.

THE sermon of Rev. J. D. Peterson, in this number, should be read by all those interested in temperance reform. It is a grand effort, to say the least. The management of THE BUDGET takes delight in publishing sermons and articles from any one that will be of interest to the thinking class of readers to read. All such good literature and brain food should be preserved for future generations to read also. Send in your best thoughts to THE BUDGET and we will give them to the thousands who need and will profit by them.

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PRESIDENT HARRISON'S message to congress is but the voice of the vast majority of the people who called him to occupy the highest position in the gift of the nation. It exhibits the careful thought and clear sight of a true statesman and a conservative patriot supported by strong convictions and undaunted courage. Every question of international importance and domestic interest is carefully considered in this great document of state. The president realizes that his is a great country fraught with many grave responsibilities that require the

wisest and best legislation possible to meet and adjust. There are many questions of international interest that will require the best diplomatic wisdom to answer. There are domestic relations that demand the immediate attention of our present congress. These problems of national and international moment were never greater than now. Greater because our country is greater. Our country is great in everything—even great in crime. With all this marvelous greatness so varied in quality and so opposite in possible results, there comes correspondent responsibility. The brave president keenly feels and gives vent to those feelings in his timely message. The message is not one of an 'offensive partisan' but one of a generous statesman who recognizes the fact that he is a public officer, which is a synonym of a public servant. His position on the two perhaps greatest of our problems of our day—namely, the educational and race problems, is clear and pronounced. There must be, beyond a doubt, further legislation concerning these two problems or there may be great harm done in letting them remain to solve themselves. The executive of the nation has sounded the key note, now let the representatives of the people

in congress assembled, sing. The message is all right. Long live President Harrison!

.

'If I was not the governor of Georgia I would like to be a citizen of Chicago' is the high compliment Gen. Gordon paid the city of the coming 'world's fair.' On arriving in the city the citizens of Chicago received the ex-confederate general with as much enthusiasm as they ever showed for their own illustrious soldier and statesman, the late Gen. John A. Logan. This is the true magnanimity of the north, and when extended to such men as Gov. Gordon it will never lack for due appreciation. While he is a southern citizen in almost every sense of the term, yet he is one of the most liberal and patriotic men in the south. And what is more, the brave general does not care who knows it. His apostrophe to the grand old stars and stripes was all that could have been asked of a Wendell Phillips or a Matthew Simpson. His position, however, on the causes and ultimatum of the war and the inter-racial difficulties now in the south did not strike the respondent chords of his northern audience. This could hardly be expected. His suggestion in substance was 'let the Negro alone.'

we can manage him to our advantage and his good. There are adequate means within the limits of his natural home (the south) for progress along the lines of civil right and material advancement.' That is all good enough if there was a possibility of those 'adequate means' ever being used to the end that the Negro might enjoy his civil rights and materially advance his intellectual and financial condition. What of the past? What of the present? Is it not positively against the governor's suggestion? We have patiently waited fully a quarter of a century for the 'adequate means' of the south to bring about the change in the condition of our people, but all in vain. Phillip A. Bruce, a distinguished author on Negro sociology, declares in a recent book that the plantation Negro is worse mentally, morally and financially today than he was under the regime of slavery. If this is true what is the matter with the 'adequate means of the south.' Assuming that Mr. Bruce has overdrawn the picture, yet there is doubtless some truth in what he says; we do not blame the south altogether for this tardiness of progress, not at all. When we look at the south aside from her natural prejudice and pride, it is not so that

there are adequate means within her limits to help the Negro as he should be helped. The south is just beginning to emerge from the ruins of a most pitiable bankruptcy. She could not help her white sons, much less her black ones. Most all the manufacturing industries and trades of the south are controlled by northern and foreign capital. Most all the educational institutions were established and are being sustained by the generous wealth of the north. These factories and schools, fed and fostered by northern capital and philanthropy, are the 'adequate means,' and when these special means are fettered by other influences, then special legislation and actions must be brought to bear in order that they may be protected. But Gov. Gordon was our distinguished visitor and we felt honored in having him among us. He is governor of one of the grandest states in the union, Georgia.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS OF INTEREST.

THE cotton crop of the south will aggregate 7,500,000 bales this year.

THERE are now three periodicals in Europe which are wholly devoted to African news and comments upon the various enterprises developing there. One of these periodicals has a circulation of 6,000 copies.

THE total export of Liberian product in 1887 was 1,200,000 pounds. Of this Germany received 600,000 pounds, United States 301,000 pounds, Belgium, France and England 149,000 pounds, Holland 150,000 pounds. During the past year more than 600,000 pounds of coffee have been exported from Monrovia.

COMMISSIONER DAWSON, of the United States bureau of education, gives a total of 1,222,611 colored children of school age in seven states, including the district of Columbia. Of this number, 1,118,556

are enrolled in the public schools. There are besides 3,924 colored students in the normal schools. In schools of science there are 810; in schools of theology, 922; in law, 81; in academic, 165. The grand total in public and other schools is 1,131,904.

In 1876, only thirteen years ago—only as long as it takes a young miss to grow into tolerably long dresses—we had but a couple of Gramme machines and a few lamps of a very crude and unsatisfactory construction and wonderfully low efficiency at the Philadelphia centennial. Just think of it, seriously, thoughtfully, with your eyes shut, for one moment, and then say to yourself there are \$300,000,000 today invested in the electric business, with over 337,017 arc and 2,704,768 glow lamps, and the 109 railways, with nearly 800 miles of track and 1,000 motor cars in daily service, and then say,

if you can, what the power is, or the energy is, or the force is, or the whatever you call it is, which is doing all this work. And, again, predict if you dare what the next thirteen years, while that laughing little miss is growing to be a staid matron, will accomplish with this same unknown and unknowable laborer in the world of science, and art, and the domestic economy of the world.—*Electrical Review*.

THE arrival of Stanley at Zanzibar marks the conclusion of one of the most remarkable journeys of modern times and places him at the head of all explorers. His great march across the equatorial regions of the Dark Continent really began in January, 1887, when he left the Mediterranean and went first to Zanzibar, then to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the mouth of the Congo, when he assumed command of the Emin Bey relief expedition at Leopoldville April 20. His route from the Congo up the Aruwimi river to Lake Albert in Emin's province occupied 372 days of travel through a comparatively unknown province, exposed to great hardships and sufferings besides continuous assaults from hostile tribes. After joining Emin Bey on the shores of Lake Albert Nyanza and finding him unwilling to leave his province he had to retrace his steps to his base of supplies only to find it destroyed. Boldly and hopefully turning his face eastward again he went back to the lake and there found Emin Bey not only willing but eager to get out of his

province, which was in revolt, and on the 8th day of May the two explorers with their retinue started for the coast and after a journey of 138 days through forests and jungles, in which they fought against sickness, hunger, and savage assaults, the little band reached its haven of refuge at Mpwapwa, whence access to the sea was easy by the help of their German escort.

When the details of this wonderful march are made public it will unquestionably prove to have been one of the longest, most arduous, and most romantic ever known. The journey across the continent from the mouth of the Congo, including the countermarches, was about 5,000 miles, and notwithstanding sickness, hardships, and dangers of all kinds the intrepid explorer found time and opportunity to make discoveries in geography which will necessitate new maps of Africa and in science and natural history which will add greatly to the knowledge of the world. The great blank spot upon the maps, intersected through its center by the equator, can now be traced out in its natural divisions, its great rivers located, its mountains designated, and it is not unlikely that the sources of the Nile and Congo will be definitely located. The mountains of the Moon are no longer a myth, and Mount Rowenzori, 17,000 feet high, takes its place among the snow-crowned monarchs of the world. It is a magnificent record, this the modern Ulysses has made!—*Chicago Tribune*.

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1917	16	1,300	1,300	1,300	1,300
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